1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

● 583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form.

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking.

The chief, *teubeyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated.

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable.

571 431 [584] [583]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

431 [554]

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

431 796 [182] [785] [262] [263] [841]

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

844 [431] [785]

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

846 262

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

854

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umiagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

NWA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	All
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*–	–	*–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*2004. Flute (weima)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

NA 583

MARRIAGE

*2018. Bride price	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*2019. As present	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2024. Friends assist in fight	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2025. Polygyny permitted	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2026. Sororal obligatory	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2026a. Sororal usual	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2027. Polyandry permitted	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	*–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2030a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2032. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2032a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2037. Child betrothal	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

[P. 404]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [77] 2004. To: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [17] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Ku: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 586 548 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

2047. To: No divorce (LP).

2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]